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"Indiana, true to tradition, occupies the highest rank in the Republic
in the service of her sons in this war."

Indiana in the War

AN ADDRESS BY

HON. EDWARD C. TONER

OF ANDERSON

Delivered October 25, 1918, at the Lincoln Hotel,
Indianapolis, Indiana

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Mr. Toner is the publisher of the Anderson Herald. He was Progressive candidate for Congress in the Eighth Indiana District in 1912, Chairman of the Progressive State Committee in the campaign of 1914 and Delegate-at-Large to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1916.

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INDIANA IN THE WAR

Shortly following an announcement in the newspapers last January that I was going to the war zones of Europe for a brief period as a representative of the American Red Cross, I was asked by Governor James P. Goodrich to come to his office.

We had overseas at that time about twenty-five hundred Indiana boys—the number has since been many times multiplied—and the sympathy and the concern of Governor Goodrich were with those boys. He was anxious as the head of our State government that Indiana should do all in her power, not only “over here” but “over there” to administer to the comfort and the wellbeing of those boys, and he wanted me to investigate the situation abroad and report what could be done.

I accepted that commission. I am satisfied, as a result of the Governor's inspiration, a considerable service will be done and that the good old Hoosier State will not only contribute materially to the welfare and comfort of our boys overseas, but in that contribution will emphasize our affection and our appreciation of the wonderful service they are doing for their State, their country, and humanity.

When I embarked at New York, there was a commission of six from Massachusetts designated to make the same investigation for Massachusetts.

Indiana and Massachusetts were the first. I wish I might convey to you an indication of the pride that thrilled me when I realized that Indiana was one of the two States first in this laudable purpose and effort. That pride was in no sense diminished by the fact that our place was shared by Massachusetts. I recalled that back in Civil War days, Indiana, under Morton, was always foremost in patriotic war service, and I recalled that in her concern for her soldiers at the front, Indiana shared the first place only with Massachusetts.

Here again, in this world's war, Indiana and Massachusetts were together and foremost in an effort to protect their sons

who were going by the thousands to break the shackles of a sinister domination of civilization and to sacrifice their lives, if need be, that a world might be free.

This is but an incident in the war activities of this great State. It is the incident, however, which particularly attracted my attention to Indiana's record in this war—a record that is unequalled by any State in the Union, one that has resulted from the aggressive leadership and initiative of a Republican Governor.

It is fitting, indeed, in this crucial hour—perhaps the turning point in the war—to examine this record and review Indiana's achievements which in no small measure have contributed to our military successes.

There is an admirable summary of this record and these achievements in the statement of Secretary Daniels made at Indianapolis but a few weeks ago. In the Indianapolis News of September 3rd, this year, Secretary Daniels said:

“Indiana has more than met every requirement and expectation of these demanding days. Whether it has been money, men, munitions, supplies, crops, machinery, or whatever else, Indiana has done more than her share, and her sister States know she will continue as she has begun, and are proud of her. My closest interest is in the navy, of course, and I have been gratified especially by the quality no less than the number of Hoosiers who have enlisted in this wonderful arm of the service.”

The indorsement of Secretary Daniels, a leader in the opposing party is, of course, a gracious expression of the official and national recognition to which Indiana is well entitled.

Of course, the background of Indiana's record—the State's achievement in this war—consists in the high-minded, all-pervading and fixed devotion of our people to the safety and perpetuity of our Republican institutions. Citizenship in Indiana has a definite meaning. Our people, while enjoying the rights, privileges and immunities of a free government, are not unmindful of the obligations which citizenship implies and involves. It has always been so. The principle of national unity established by Morton at a time when civil war attacked our existence I think explains the consideration which every

citizen of our commonwealth is willing to give to any assault upon our national honor.

Indiana is always right because her people are right. Her people are right because they are intelligent; because they have a fixed interest in politics and government and because they are accustomed to give considerable time to the performance of their duties as instrumentalities for the expressions of a free choice in all matters of public concern. They read widely and discuss freely any and all matters which reflect the operation of the agencies at work in organized society. They would not want to shirk the responsibilities of prosecuting a war in which our country is involved any more than they are accustomed to shirk their responsibilities as citizens in the everyday events of life.

Still, they had to be organized. Action was what was needed. The dormant strength of a nation at war is of little use unless it finds concrete expression in all of the things which contribute to the waging of war. The patriotism of our citizens, their devotion to the common cause, their individual and undivided support of our declaration of war, their admitted intelligence in the performance of difficult tasks would have been futile but for the group action made possible by intelligent leadership. Indiana was able, in the other great crisis, to produce a Morton. In this crisis, Indiana has been equally fortunate in another Governor who has been willing and able to lead.

Back of all of our wonderful achievements since April 1, 1917, there was the inspiration, foresight, initiative, directing genius and organizing ability of Governor Goodrich. It is his personality that pervades the spirit of Indiana in this war. To him is due the credit which goes to intelligent leadership. There is credit enough for all—credit for our people who have well performed the difficult work assigned to them, credit to the Governor who foresaw the work necessary, planned and directed its execution.

There has been no wobbling in Indiana. With keen vision, Governor Goodrich saw the march of future events—marked with precision the State's course in the war and piloted her activities with a firm and vigorous hand without procrastination,

without wavering, but with determined energy that Indiana should be true to her traditions. He did not wait for the development of a war spirit to move him. He did not wait for public sentiment to impel executive action. He did not wait for a popular demand for preparedness. Among the first in the land, he saw the war demands of future days and prepared while others talked. By an aggressive initiative he moulded public sentiment and led the people of Indiana into the vanguard of effective patriotism and practical preparedness.

INCREASED FOOD PRODUCTION.

Before we entered the war a year ago last April, the food situation in America was becoming critical. The demands of our present allies were for more and more food. The growing scarcity of food was beginning to express itself in a frenzy of high prices and the national administration realized that nothing short of a concerted effort toward increased production throughout the Union could save us.

The national outcome of this situation was the enactment into law of the Lever bill, and the establishment of the National Food Administration, of which Herbert C. Hoover is the head.

It was on May 17, 1917, that the President asked Mr. Hoover to assume the proposed task of food control. It was not until June 12, 1917, that Mr. Hoover was asked by the President to begin assembling a voluntary organization for the purpose of food control, and it was not until August 10, 1917, that the Lever bill was passed by which the Food Administration was officially recognized.

We started in Indiana a strongly organized effort along the line of increased food production. We started this effort before anything had been done elsewhere and long before the suggestion had come from Washington or from any of our sister States. This early start, arising from the early conception of our national needs, was wonderfully rewarded by the bountiful results in increased production that year.

War was declared on April 6th, last year. The day before the declaration of war Indiana's forces were organized for food production at a meeting called by Governor Goodrich.

This was upwards of a month before Mr. Hoover was asked to assume the proposed task of national food control, and it was upwards of two months before Mr. Hoover was asked to begin assembling a voluntary organization.

The call for this meeting of Indiana farmers was as follows:

"The farmers of Indiana are the State's most valuable asset in this time of stress. I have called a meeting of all the agricultural interests to mobilize Indiana agriculture. In the interests of large acreage, greater crops, prevention of waste, please attend conference, State House, Indianapolis, 10:00 a. m. Thursday, April 5."

More than five hundred men and women from over the State assembled at the State House in response to this call by Governor Goodrich. A definite result of this meeting was an arrangement for meetings in all the county seats in the State on Saturday, April 7th. The following telegram was sent by Governor Goodrich to county agents in all counties having such officials and to leading citizens in all other counties:

"We must organize Indiana agriculture to meet the demands for food forced by war conditions abroad and exhausted supply at home."

Working through Prof. G. I. Christie, of Purdue University, lately appointed assistant secretary of agriculture, who came to Indianapolis at the Governor's request, through Dr. L. E. Northrup, his appointee as State Veterinarian, and through Dr. H. E. Barnard, later appointed Federal Food Administrator, the whole State was aroused by Governor Goodrich to the necessity of immediate action. The cultivation of idle soil, the careful selection of seed, the use of tractors in many places, and the planting of war gardens were various aspects of what was undertaken.

As a result of this co-operation, in 1917 Indiana planted nearly 600,000 more acres of corn than were planted in 1916. This increased acreage yielded more than 24,000,000 bushels in addition to the normal yield, which at an average price of \$1.50 per bushel, amounted to \$36,000,000.

As a result of the campaign to increase the wheat produc-

tion, there was an increase of 524,000 acres sown in the fall of 1917 and harvested in the summer of 1918. On an average yield of nineteen bushels per acre and with a selling price of \$2.10 per bushel, the increased monetary return from wheat in Indiana was \$22,907,600.

As a result of the campaign launched by Governor Goodrich in 1917, Indiana planted more than 500,000 war gardens. These war gardens yielded the State, in addition to the food products made available, approximately \$1,000,000 over usual and normal returns. In 1918 the number of war gardens planted has exceeded 600,000.

The campaign to increase the production of pork, started by Governor Goodrich, has been particularly successful.

After Mr. Hoover's appointment as Federal Food Administrator, the effort to produce more pork became nation-wide. Indiana's machinery for doing this work, constructed under the personal direction of Governor Goodrich, has been featured throughout the country. Forrest Crissey has described the plan in detail in the *Country Gentleman*. The machinery reaches out from the office of the State Veterinarian to deputy veterinarians in seventeen districts of the State. It comprehends agents of the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, local veterinarians, county agents and, in fact, everybody who is willing to co-operate.

The machinery includes a clearance system for returning light hogs from the stockyards to the farmers for further feeding—a system that has been copied by a score of States and that has been urged by Mr. Hoover for adoption throughout the country.

What has this thoroughly organized effort accomplished? Results are the yard-stick of efficiency, and the results of this effort speak eloquently of the plan as well as of the patriotic co-operation of Indiana people. Summing up the results of the work in the *Indiana Farmer's Guide*, published in Huntington, Dr. Northrup himself has said:

“A glance at the records of the receipts at the Indianapolis stockyards for February, 1918, comparing them with the receipts for February, 1917, show wealth created by a magic touch beyond the dreams of Midas.

The receipts for February, 1918, were 339,543, as against 157,268 for February, 1917, an increase of 182,275. The average weight of the hogs received in February, 1918, was 223 pounds as against 198 pounds in February, 1917. This is in the Indianapolis yards alone, and the proportionate increase would be shown in the yards at Evansville, Lafayette and other points.

"This makes an increase for the month for the Indianapolis yard receipts of 44,579,025 pounds of pork, which at 17½ cents per pound, a very fair quotation for February, 1918, means an increased value of more than \$7,500,000."

Where is there a State in the Union that can show such results in increased food production for war purposes? These results were accomplished under a Republican administration, under the inspiration and the direction of a Republican Governor, and they give us reason tonight for an increased pride in our party's leadership and its achievements. These results, contributing so powerfully to the prosecution of the war, also give us renewed assurance that Republican governments *can* be efficient in waging war for a righteous cause.

UNNECESSARY BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION STOPPED.

About a month after America entered the war, Governor Goodrich issued a circular letter to county, township, city and town authorities. He advised these authorities to postpone the letting of all contracts for roads, public buildings and structures of every kind not imperatively demanded in the public interest. This action on the part of the Governor was generously criticised by selfish interests.

This was another step in the plan of the Governor for mobilizing the full force of the State for war and related work.

The letter issued by Governor Goodrich occasioned considerable discussion. A great many people, a bit reluctant to subordinate their personal interests to the demand of a world crisis, rallied behind the banner of "Business as Usual." They failed to foresee that business could not remain "as usual" when tens of millions of the productive men and women of

America were to be drafted either into the service overseas or into the work necessary and incident to the feeding and supplying of our armies and our allies. They failed to foresee the magnitude of the task of supplying our armies with clothing and munitions, our government with ships, improved railway service and supplies of a thousand kinds directly related to the war. The administration at Washington was for a time among those that followed the banner of "Business as Usual." The administration at Washington, along with the masses of people throughout the land, came to realize that there could not be "business as usual" if the country were to engage seriously for the defense of its rights and its honor and the redemption of free governments by means of war, and fell into line behind the policy of Governor Goodrich.

While I was in France I had opportunity to learn at first hand the attitude of our allies, who had already been in war nearly four years. They had learned in France from the gruelling trials of experience that "business as usual" was unthinkable. Their commitment at that time was to a willing though amazing sacrifice with their eye singly upon the winning of the war. I was present when Henri Bouillon, member of the Chamber of Deputies and Secretary of the Interior of France, said:

"This generation in France realizes the national as well as the personal sacrifice involved. We inherited a country well developed and advanced and we inherited an obligation to carry forward that development. All plans along that line even long since stopped. We can't build bridges or monuments. We can't build roads or buildings. We can't reach out along lines of culture. We will turn our country over to the succeeding generation not improved during our possession and, what is more, bankrupt. We will, however, turn it over free, and that now is our one and absorbing aim."

This was the position taken by Governor Goodrich—a position which to others in America seemed unnecessary. He anticipated conditions that were not only inevitable but at the time imminent.

The Governor's action proved most important and helpful. By reason of it, millions of dollars and thousands of men in Indiana were released for the strictly necessary enterprises of

military importance. Otherwise, they might have been tied up indefinitely.

It is a noteworthy evidence of our Governor's foresight that the administration at Washington finally abandoned the "Business as Usual" banner and subscribed fully and heartily to his plan. That plan today has been carried even further, and it is a direction of the administration at Washington at this time that the most rigid restrictions be placed on all building, private as well as public, to the end that the producing forces of the nation be as fully applied as possible to the winning of the war.

WORK OF PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

The Indiana Public Service Commission, a majority of the members of which were appointed by Governor Goodrich, has stood out conspicuously as an agency of great importance in the war plans of the national government.

The Governor had a full realization of the importance of this branch of the State service and at the outset disregarded politics in the reorganization of this commission.

The late William J. Wood, a Democrat, was appointed to membership on this commission, giving that party majority representation when the Governor might have made it Republican. Mr. Wood, however, was appointed because of his exceptional ability and politics was wholly ignored.

The commission, under the chairmanship of Ernest I. Lewis, is not only non-partisan but in a comparatively brief period has gained a wide reputation for wisdom and absolute impartiality that has made its influence felt far beyond State lines.

It was the Public Service Commission of Indiana, at the suggestion of Governor Goodrich, that after a thorough investigation laid the basis for the creation of the National Fuel Administration.

Governor Goodrich, himself, appeared before a committee of the United States Congress to urge the enactment of the law creating the Fuel Administration. Most of the information collected for the Fuel Administration by the Federal Trade Commission regarding coal mining costs was gathered by Indiana accountants detailed from the State Board of Accounts.

If the Federal Fuel Administration disregarded these costs and this information in fixing prices and established prices unwarranted by the facts, it was no fault of the Indiana officials. Neither was it a mistake of the Governor's plan of administration.

This commission has prevented many threatened strikes in the Indiana coal fields by using its good offices in many instances. It was able to speed up production in a substantial measure by requiring the railroads to furnish improved service in transporting miners and in many other ways.

The results speak for themselves. While the gain in coal production during 1917, dependent in a large measure upon these factors, amounted to about ten per cent for the country as a whole, Indiana showed a gain of 5,000,000 tons for the year, or twenty-five per cent.

Those who recall the heatless Mondays will appreciate the importance of coal as a factor in the winning of the war and know what these figures mean. It is necessary for the production of ordnance, and for industrial production generally, and the United States must continue to furnish millions of tons to our allies or they would be comparatively helpless and the war would be lost.

On account of the threatened shortage of man-power and material necessary in strictly war enterprises, the Indiana Public Service Commission adopted a policy that anticipated the National Government by more than a year. In harmony with the expressed policy of Governor Goodrich that there be no unnecessary public building, the commission decided that there should be no extensions of public utilities service, new water and gas mains, electric light or street railway lines, or telephone circuits—except in cases where extreme necessity was apparent. Within the past six weeks, the Capital Issues Committee of the Federal Government announced a policy of refusing to authorize any further extensions of this character during the period of the war.

The Public Service Commission of Indiana was the first in the country to adopt the method of giving temporary relief to public utilities in consideration of the increased cost of coal, labor and materials, caused by the war. President Wilson, himself, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, and the

Controller of the Currency, Mr. Williams, have since emphasized the importance of maintaining the solvency of these vital functions in our municipal life. The public utilities in no instance, however, have been permitted to capitalize the war to the prejudice of the public.

When Mr. McAdoo issued his famous General Order No. 28 by which freight rates throughout the country were increased from 25 to 300 per cent, an order promulgating many rates that are prohibitive, unreasonable and discriminatory, the commission instead of doing what many commissions did and still do—deny his authority to make railroad rates at all—recognized his authority in the face of adverse criticism and undertook to obtain an adjustment of the schedules.

The work of the Public Service Commission has been multiplied by present conditions. A period of inflation has upset all calculations. Expenses of operation have mounted beyond reason and where receipts are fixed and unyielding there is imminent peril. The burden of finding a way out falls on the Public Service Commission. Instead of hearing approximately six hundred cases a year it is now hearing two thousand cases a year. In a sense, it is a safety valve of business. It is accomplishing an extraordinary work, and to its great credit is accomplishing this work in a way that merits and obtains the unqualified approval of our citizens. It is functioning one hundred per cent in Indiana's war work and in her necessities growing out of war conditions. It is a significant fact that since the reorganization of the commission, not a single appeal to the courts involving rates established by the commission has been taken.

INDIANA AT THE FRONT.

Indiana, true to tradition, occupies the highest rank in the Republic in the service of her sons in this war.

Indiana was among the first to give in blood and treasure to the cause of the Union in the Civil War. Under the leadership of Governor Morton she made a record that reflects credit and honor on her today.

Her sons, imbued with the same patriotic devotion and courage and fired and inspired by the leadership of Governor

Goodrich, are making the same extraordinary record in this war.

Fired by the spirit of Morton as visualized by the present Governor, Indiana has furnished more volunteers for the regular army than any State in the Union, regardless of size. The State was asked for 5,400 volunteers for the army and gave to the nation 25,148. She was asked for 800 volunteers for the navy and gave to the nation 5,516. In the number of volunteers for the army she leads all the States in the Union regardless of their size. In the number of volunteers for the navy she leads all the States in the Union on the basis of population.

Including the national guard of 10,471 men, the volunteers sent to the marines, the regular army and navy, and the selective enlisted men under the War Department's draft, Indiana has sent upwards of 140,000 men to the colors.

Besides those contributed to active service, Indiana raised and drilled an extra regiment of artillery for the national guard and offered it to the Federal Government. For some unknown reason this regiment was rejected as a unit, but its membership has very largely gone into active service through individual volunteer enlistment.

Thirty-eight companies of State militia have been organized and are steadily training and on the alert to make the State safe during the war period. So efficient is this body that it is recognized as a school for soldiers who are preparing to go into the United States army. Men from the Indiana State militia are winning promotion in many army camps. In this activity Indiana leads.

Indiana has not stopped here. She has organized two hundred companies of the Liberty Guards for duty at home.

As a result of these factors of home defense, there is ample security against any disorder in the State and there is being builded an invaluable recruiting field of trained men for future service.

CONSCRIPTION.

No phase of the war has been more important than the registration, examination, classification and selection of the new national army under the selective draft law. The work

of General E. H. Crowder, Provost Marshal of the United States under this law, stands out as one of the really brilliant accomplishments of the war administration. General Crowder, himself an efficient and painstaking officer, has officially recognized the high character of the Indiana administration of the selective draft law and the splendid co-operation he has received from Indiana's conscription agents. These agents were appointed upon recommendation of Governor Goodrich.

In a letter dated June 10, 1918, General Crowder said:

"Investigations made by this office disclose the fact that the daily telegraphic reports of induction to this office are not complete or up to date. Some States are very near perfection, notably Indiana and Pennsylvania, but many States are not promptly furnishing satisfactory reports."

Thus it seems that Indiana has measured up fully to her war responsibilities in one more important respect.

In a letter dated July 12, 1918, General Crowder had this to say of the administration of the selective draft law in Indiana:

"Major H. W. Adams has returned recently to this office from a trip through the Middle West, during which he took occasion to visit various State headquarters.

"The report which he has made with reference to the operation of the selective service system in Indiana is peculiarly gratifying. It appears that, from the inception of the draft, a high standard of administration has been set in your State, and that Major Baltzell, the present executive, is ably maintaining the standard."

In the way of volunteers, both to the army and navy and in the administration of the draft, Indiana has led the nation.

The same traditional Hoosier spirit of loyalty and patriotism that put Indiana first and foremost in the number of soldiers and sailors furnished in the war for the Union; the same spirit that made Indiana loyal to the cause of the United States in the war against Spain and for the liberation of Cuba, rules today in Indiana. As evidence of the Indiana spirit in action, witness the facts:

The first American soldier killed in battle in France was an Indiana man, Corporal James Bethel Gresham, of Evansville.

The first shot fired against the Germans by an American gunner was fired by Sergeant Alex Arch, of South Bend, a Hoosier soldier.

So it is that not only in war activities back of the line, but also in the actual fighting, out there on the front, Indiana is first and foremost.

WORK OF STATE COUNCIL OF DEFENSE.

In less than three weeks after the United States Congress declared a state of war existed between this nation and the despoilers of Belgium, the Council of National Defense, a legally constituted body that had been in existence for eight months, assumed auxiliary direction of this country's preparation for an effective participation in the struggle. Pursuant to a request from the President, the Secretary of War, as chairman of the National Council of Defense, addressed to each of the forty-eight Governors the request that the States be organized after the fashion of the Federal body. This request, as every other that has come from headquarters, was construed as a military command by Governor Goodrich, and in less than thirty days, the Indiana State Council of Defense had been appointed, called together and organized. Will H. Hays, of Sullivan, was made chairman, and the wisdom of that selection has been attested by a record of achievement unsurpassed.

The organization of the Indiana State Council of Defense and the work done by that body under the inspiration and direction of Governor Goodrich and the chairman, Will H. Hays, have within themselves been enough to place Indiana in the front rank of states from the viewpoint of real and potential service in this crisis.

Only a short time ago the Washington authorities indicated the opinion that the Indiana organization is one of the most efficient State Councils of Defense in the country, and it has served as a working model to less progressive States. Frank I. Carruthers, of Colorado, editor of the Great Divide,

sent to Indiana to study defense work as exemplified by Hoosier Workers, said:

"We in Colorado have been told many times that Indiana leads and supplies the model Defense Council for the other States."

Secretary of War Baker, in a letter to Will H. Hays, chairman, said:

"The work of the Indiana Council has been particularly gratifying. More power to you."

This official recognition of Indiana's aggressive loyalty and patriotic service was made October 16, 1917, and was brought out by the demonstrations, repeatedly noted, of Indiana's remarkable efficiency in every war activity.

Meredith Nicholson, so well known to the people of this State, paid a fine tribute to the Governor's war administration and the work of the State Council of Defense, at the meeting of editors held in connection with the war conference on Dec. 14, 1917. Mr. Nicholson said:

"It is a privilege as it is a pleasure to have an opportunity to testify to the intelligence and vigor with which Governor Goodrich has addressed himself to the business of putting Indiana on a war footing. If the Council of Defense of this loyal commonwealth isn't the best, the most energetic and enlightened in the Union, I should like to hear of another that approaches it for character and range of its work. Every citizen of this State is indebted to Mr. Will H. Hays, the chairman of the State Council, for the zeal and effectiveness with which he has organized our war work, and for the great patriotic awakening of our people to which he has contributed in so great measure. As a Democrat, I am glad to express my appreciation of what the Republican State administration has done, and what the Republican chairman of the State Council is doing to mobilize Indiana resources. I'm disposed to be pretty critical of my neighbors' Americanism in these times, but if there's a sounder American between the two oceans than Bill Hays I confess that I don't know where to lay my hand on him. He's a Republican, but first of all he's an American citizen. He has neglected nothing that could add to the strength of Indiana's arm or to the realization by all her people that this is *our* war, a

war for the defense of those principles of freedom and democracy that are rooted deep in the Hoosier earth that our fathers won for us and fought and saved under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln."

In other ways the national authorities have testified to the splendid efficiency, loyalty and industrious devotion of the Indiana war workers led by a Republican Governor and by a Republican chieftain, Will H. Hays, formerly Indiana State Chairman of the Republican party, and now Republican National Chairman.

Now what is the Indiana State Council of Defense? Let me say that no more representative body was ever assembled in the State capitol for any purpose. In the personnel of the State Council, Governor Goodrich emphatically demonstrated his qualifications for leadership and responsibility. For so democratic, so cosmopolitan, so able did this council prove, in the conception of its duty and the execution of its purposes, that it has been universally applauded, commended and sustained.

In the State Council are represented, as there should be represented, the business, labor and professional interests of the State, the public utilities, common carriers and women. They all have a common task, and an equal voice. The council includes trusted leaders of the people, men and a woman, who are conscious of their responsibility to the State and nation in this crisis. None has ever dared question the unselfish motives of the council, and only the most bigoted partisan has ever sought to detract from the highmindness of the members, who have served faithfully and efficiently, all without pay.

For the work of more than twenty who have been included in the council since its formation (death and resignations having affected its membership in sixteen months) not one has ever received one cent of reward and all have paid their own expenses, some coming more than 100 miles and devoting one entire day each week to the discharge of their responsibilities.

In the organization of the Indiana Council of Defense politics was ignored. The first chairman, Will H. Hays, was

chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, but he was appointed because of his great vision and his exceptional organizing ability. When he resigned, Michael E. Foley, a leading Democrat, was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Foley has been a very worthy successor to Mr. Hays, and this is enough of a compliment to pay any man. The membership chances to have an equal representation of both the great political parties.

It is the thought of Governor Goodrich that when we are involved in war and when our institutions are in peril the administration should forget politics and should call to the State's aid every available power regardless of whence it comes. This is the essence of what we denominate a "coalition" government, and such a government is represented completely and successfully in our State Council of Defense. Incidentally I can't fail to suggest that the thought, if adopted more generally at Washington, would inure greatly to the winning of the war.

And what has the Indiana State Council of Defense done?

Generally speaking, it has organized the men, money, materials and resources of the State on a war basis.

What does this mean?

In the first instance, it means that the Indiana State Council must interpret for the people the significance of the new situation—our nation at war, against the most determined, desperate and resourceful people that have ever sought to enslave the world. It involved an educational campaign that would serve to rally the thousands of Indiana citizens whose minds have been poisoned by insidious propaganda, to a complete understanding of the righteousness of the nation's cause, and a 100 per cent loyalty in support thereof.

This was not all. It meant more. It meant that every ounce of strength, of energy, of enthusiasm, of wealth, and of influence be brought into effective participation in the war program. There had to be a complete mobilization and a complete co-ordination of these forces. Indiana had to apply to the ends of war the full volume of her strength and it had to apply it with the minimum duplication of effort and the minimum waste.

There was appointed in each of the ninety-two counties a County Council of Defense. At the direction of Governor Goodrich these appointments were made by the judges of the circuit courts of the State. It was a specific request of the Governor in connection with these appointments that of a minimum membership of seven there be at least one woman and at least one representative of labor. And so through the County Councils, National and State bodies may communicate directly to the people.

It has since been found desirable to extend the defense organizations into the townships with units as small as the school district.

The greater machinery thus provided, has justified the difficulties experienced in converting the "what's the use type" who were then classed as *near patriots*, and who now see the light and are struggling toward it.

Indiana is now organized down to the grass roots. Daily, the State has been doing the impossible. The County Councils, true to their preconceived purpose, are functioning one hundred per cent.

One of the first things that had to be done was to create an understanding and approval of the army conscription law. This radical departure from traditional policy was the source of no little misgiving and doubt among the peace officers of the State. Memories of an unpleasant nature were conjured up by the word "draft," and some concern obtained lest there be riotous opposition when the first registration came.

What happened?

Thanks to the good offices of these County Councils of Defense, many of them not yet out of their swaddling clothes, registration day was consecrated by such a spiritual outpouring of patriotism that the success of the system was guaranteed.

Then, these Councils of Defense, co-operating with the local boards, assisted in ferreting out the slackers.

No sooner were the smaller units of the organization completed than they were put to work. As their chores increased in number, their strength developed until by the time the more important duties presented themselves, there was in every

instance the instrumentality in the County Council of Defense by which it was promptly and satisfactorily accomplished.

In each county, the County Council of Defense nominated a Federal food administrator, who like themselves, assumed tremendous responsibilities with possibly scant appreciation and even less pay. They rallied around this food administrator and gave him courage and strength.

Governor Goodrich recognized the certainty of a fuel crisis long before the Federal Government was aroused to the situation. The County Councils were notified and urged with success the preparation of available timber which afterward proved their sole fuel supply.

As requested later, the County Councils of Defense nominated the County Federal Fuel Administrators and have since, without exception, stood loyally by them in all the vicissitudes of their extremely tortuous work.

In like manner, the County Councils have co-operated in the enforcement of the Federal law regulating the possession, sale, manufacture and use of explosives.

By assuming supervision over the collection of money for war benevolence, the County Councils have prevented frauds and indirectly served to stimulate giving to the recognized legitimate relief agencies.

Every County Council of Defense has named a county director of the United States Boys' Working Reserve, a dependable source of productive labor that has justified its right to recognition and support from all who are sincere in their sympathies with our agricultural problems.

Every County Council of Defense, too, has named a director of the United States Public Service Reserve which is the recruiting branch of the United States Employment Service, the organization charged with providing the man-power for our war industries.

In every county there has been named a committee whose business has been to tender to enlisted men and their dependants *free legal aid* and advice. As a result of the intervention of the County Councils of Defense, the shylocks, the jacklegs and the grafters have been diverted to other prey and the boys at the front given assurance that their legal rights are pro-

tected, and their property secure from the buzzards who had anticipated a feast.

Then under the direction of the County Councils, women were registered voluntarily, with a view to having an index for Uncle Sam in the event the emergency shall call into active service those who no longer deserve to be called "the weaker sex."

The children, too, were canvassed and the first great step in national reconstruction taken. Provision was made where needed, for medical and hospital service, and I know Indiana will in the coming generation profit immeasurably by the citizenship of thousands whom statistics show would have died from the diseases prevented by this year's campaign.

After having produced wonderful war gardens, the citizens of Indiana were educated to consume and conserve these perishable crops, through the propaganda for which County Councils of Defense were responsible. Every crop campaign, every effort to stimulate live stock production, improvements in quality, or conservation that has characterized the magic of Indiana's record for two years, was either original with the County Councils of Defense, or under their auspices, encouraged and supported.

Recognizing the need for the protection of life and property, such as is afforded only by the presence of trained military forces, the County Councils of Defense fostered the new State militia which is a creditable successor to the regiments now winning new glory for Indiana in Picardy and Lorraine.

County Councils, too, have been the godparents to the Liberty Guard companies, the most convincing evidence of Hoosier patriotism that has yet been volunteered.

County Councils of Defense have supported regularly constituted peace officers to take such steps as the emergency justified, notwithstanding these steps might have been unusual and extra legal in some cases. But the people approved, for they have confidence in the County Councils, firm in the conviction that nothing of a partisan, personal or selfish character has ever been permitted to mar the noble unselfishness of the record.

And all these county activities have been inspired and di-

rected by the Indiana State Council of Defense, and through it by the Governor of our State, whom we are proud to say is the leader of the party to which we give allegiance. But the Indiana State Council of Defense has done more. Sensing the enlarged duty and opportunity of the State's educational, religious and fraternal organizations, these too were called in to do their part.

The Indiana schools are on a war basis. The Educational Section of the Indiana State Council of Defense has provided through the public schools a direct line of communication into many homes that might not otherwise have received the message of patriotism. The duty of every child, and every parent, has been presented through the schools in such a manner as to augur well for the growing citizenship of the State. The pupils know why it is essential to produce and conserve, why they should buy Thrift stamps and Liberty bonds, why they should serve their country to the limit of their ability—and it is because they do know and understand that they are doing all these things.

The State Council went further in this educational campaign. Availing itself of the forces identified with the State's high institutions of learning, the council with the material and ability thus afforded, planned and established a bureau of public speaking. The far-reaching influence of this department, in its very successful operation cannot be overestimated. It has furnished an orator, an educator, a patriot for every occasion where the message of freedom, of duty, of humanity, of civilization, of Christianity could be presented. The Indiana State Council of Defense may well pride itself on the achievements of the enterprise. For by and through its effort, the people of the State have learned of the enemy's depravity and of our own lofty mission in connection with the war.

Religious denominations in Indiana, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, stand today a church militant, participating in the Eighth Crusade. This is in a large measure due to the directive influence of the Indiana State Council of Defense. And at their right hand equally dedicated, equally inspired, and equally consecrated to the great cause, are the half million fraternalists of the commonwealth similarly or-

ganized. Indiana is furnishing to the army and navy her quota of doctors and dentists. These have been mobilized by the State Council, which has not failed to support the campaign for nurses and students so necessary to successful relief of the unfortunate on the battlefield.

Indiana labor is loyal. It is busy, striving manfully to do its part. No small credit for the success of Indiana in its war achievements is due to labor. Indiana has been particularly free from strikes since the beginning of the war and in an era of rising prices that have affected every element of living. The workers have practiced a measure of economy that bespeaks their undivided support of the war and of those charged with responsibility for its execution. Labor has given to Governor Goodrich the very generous support to which he is entitled. The present spirit of labor is due in some measure to the recognition given the working classes in the State Council's organization, its liberal policy, the consistent fairness with which all labor issues have been received and considered by this body.

The State Council of Defense has achieved this extraordinary service at a comparatively trifling cost.

Indiana is one of two or three States in the Union that has had no regular nor special session of the legislature since the declaration of war.

It was the judgment—I might say the wisdom—of Governor Goodrich to avoid an expense of \$50,000 or \$60,000 that would be necessitated by a special session of the legislature. Accordingly, there is no appropriation for the use of the Indiana State Council of Defense. The money necessary to its work has been in a large way advanced by Governor Goodrich.

The total expenditures of the Indiana State Council of Defense from the beginning of its work a year and a half ago until October 1st, just past, are \$78,251.

As an indication of what the work of the State Council of Defense is costing in other States I am offering the following table which was published some time ago and appears not to be questioned:

State	Funds	How Financed	Spent
California.....	\$100,000	State funds appropriated	\$52,781.30 to January 15
Maine.....	1,000,000	State funds appropriated	
Maryland.....	2,000,000	State loan	\$50,000.00 to April 1
Massachusetts.....	2,030,000	State funds appropriated	\$268,702.82 to November 1
Michigan.....	5,000,000		
Minnesota.....	1,000,000	4 per cent loan	
New Hampshire...	1,000,000	State funds appropriated	
New Mexico.....	750,000	State funds appropriated	
New York.....	1,000,000	State funds appropriated	
Ohio.....	250,000	State funds appropriated	\$150,000.00 to December 10
Pennsylvania.....	2,760,000	State funds appropriated	\$215,000.00 to March 1
Vermont.....	1,000,000	State funds appropriated	
Indiana.....	100,000	Borrowed	\$78,254.00 to October 1

The table is not complete, but it represents all the States for which information in the brief time at my disposal is available. In view of the comparative expenditures we marvel at the work done by the Indiana Council of Defense and at the place, from the viewpoint of efficiency, it has attained among those important war agencies throughout the Union. The secret of the difference is that in Indiana most of the work is voluntary and free service, while in many States it is a paid service.

The Indiana State Council of Defense, because it has been representative of the patriotism of the people, because it has accomplished its task, because it has vision and ability, because it is on the job, and on the square, standing back of every effort honestly intended to help win the war, to fulfill the wishes of the Federal Government, because it intends and is determined to keep untarnished the honored record of loyalty and devotion to the nation that has always characterized the State, has the confidence, good will and respect of every patriot in the commonwealth. It deserves and will receive an unqualified endorsement. It will have an honored place in the State's record in the world war, because it has earned such a place.

The State Council of Defense has been and is the creature of James P. Goodrich, a Republican Governor. Naturally, the Governor is not without pride in its achievements.

SOME OTHER ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

While I am recording the war work of Indiana, let me add a few things in brief statements. I may have referred to one or two of them before.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first to organize for increased food production, conservation and the substitution of other foods for wheat and meat in the war emergency. The Indiana idea became a national plan of safety.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first to organize for increased fuel production and conservation.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first among the States to organize for the registration of men under the War Department's first draft call.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first to start the systematic organization of conscripted men, not only for military training at home before leaving for the camps, but for patriotic activities and practical service back of the lines. Men in deferred classifications under the War Department's draft, are organized under the Indiana idea as a part of the great defense organization which carries Liberty Loan and other war drives "over the top" with such celerity and enthusiasm.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, has led all the way in the enlistment for war work of the youth of the State under the flag of the United States Boys' Working Reserve. Regardless of population, no State has equalled Indiana in actual numbers of high school boys and youths enlisted to labor in the harvest fields, in the woodlots and elsewhere as helpers in the great task of supplying man-power to take the places of men gone to the colors.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first to organize the women speakers for duty in the great propaganda campaign of Americanism. It was an Indiana woman who worked out the plan of "Fourteen-Minute Speakers," chosen from among the women leaders, and it was Indiana that stood ready when the national call went out for 1,000 women speakers—ready with Indiana's quota of effective women orators, trained in advance of the call and prepared to voice the American idea in other States as well as in Indiana.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first to organize the War Mothers for war work in co-ordination with the defense organization. This Indiana idea has spread the country over.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first among the States to organize patriotic propaganda on a systematic and effective basis, forestalling and defeating in advance the systematic pro-German propaganda which so afflicted and embarrassed many of the States early in the war.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first among the States to organize the sedentary militia of Liberty Guards for war work. They are not only protecting property but they are carrying to the homes of all the people the American idea.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was first to take in hand, through the State militia and the Liberty Guards, the preliminary training and drilling of selective enlistment men who were awaiting the call to the colors. The important Indiana activity serves the practical purpose of preparing new soldiers in a fundamental way, thus shortening the camp training period and hastening the time of active service.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, was among the first to establish vocational schools in connection with public schools and universities, for soldiers, limited service men, and special service men of all kinds. The short course in mechanics was an Indiana idea and it has been adopted as the nation's policy.

Indiana, under a Republican Governor, has oversubscribed the three Liberty Loans and has now oversubscribed the fourth. Prior to the fourth loan the people had absorbed more than \$207,000,000 of war bonds, along with more than \$50,000,000 of war savings stamps. At the same time, the State gave \$2,097,000, or more than double its quota, to the American Red Cross, and showed itself first in proportion to population in Red Cross membership, a total of 736,384, or more than twenty-six per cent of the population joining that organization.

The cost of State administration during this war period of abnormally high prices should appeal to every citizen and tax-

payer of Indiana. The cost is reflected by the cash balance on hands in all funds on September 30, 1916 and September 30, 1918. Two years ago the cash balances in all funds amounted to \$2,149,756.44. This year the cash balance amounted to \$3,700,161.30. In addition to all the cash balances on September 30, 1918, the State had in storage about \$600,000 worth of binder twine manufactured at the State prison. The significance of these figures is further apparent when it is remembered that the last General Assembly reduced the State tax rate $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. All this evidences the business ability of Governor Goodrich and his careful attention to the details of economical State government.

REPUBLICAN PARTY A WAR PARTY.

I have made this address rather long—too long. It has been my desire, however, to indicate the extraordinary position Indiana has earned among the sisterhood of States, and I felt the need of going into considerable detail, so that my contention could be pressed with facts and figures that the truth might be proved.

We are proud of our commonwealth and, as another chapter is written in her history, we recall the days of our Civil War and we are pleased and thrilled with the thought that the patriotism, the courage and the willingness to work and to sacrifice in those days was a heritage that did not fall to ungrateful or unfeeling folk, but has come forth anew in the second and third generations to the support of our flag and to the protection of our republic.

We people who are gathered here are largely members of the party of Lincoln and Morton. The fathers and grandfathers of many of us were followers of these two great leaders when this country of ours was breaking the shackles of slavery and cementing a union for a lasting service to civilization.

Some months ago I stood on the quay at Bordeaux, France, and saw a thousand colored men in khaki march down the boards and line up under the direction of their officers. They were arriving in France for service of their country in this world war for humanity.

It came to my mind then that a half century and more ago the white race of the north waged a four years' war to free the negro from the bondage of slavery, and here was an evidence of the reward. These colored men of the south were landing in France to aid in freeing the white race of the world of an attempted domination that would be almost the equal of slavery.

The Republican party is in control in Indiana. I have referred to Governor Goodrich frequently, but let us know that every State official has staunchly and efficiently supported him in all his labors. Together they have given the State an administration of which she can well be proud. They were severely handicapped in legislation due to a Senate that was controlled by the opposite party and that refused to co-operate even in measures that were urgently needed for the State's welfare and the State's progress. It is not my mission to speak of this. It is my mission to speak of the great war work of this patriotic and efficient administration.

Through the agency of this administration and under its inspiring and helpful influence, Indiana has attained to its present high position.

My plea is that in the election next month the voters of Indiana bear this in mind. Among other things let us give Governor Goodrich a legislature that will co-operate with him, that will support him.

The Republican party in a national sense, has always led in patriotic activity and in constructive progress. This was so in the Civil war. It was so in the reconstruction period. It was so in the Spanish-American war.

We folk, gathered here tonight, are proud of the record of the Republican party. We can't be prouder of that record than of the record it is making in this war.

In other periods, the Republican party was the party in power. It formulated the policies of government and it executed them. It was met at every turn with obstinate and disheartening opposition, but it prevailed, and its record through those periods is not only the glory of the party but the glory of our Nation.

In these days of our country's stress and peril, the Repub-

lican party has risen to even new heights of patriotism, of devotion and of service.

The Republican party is not the party in power. It is the party out of power. It is not the Republican party's part to formulate or execute the policies of national government; it is its part to support those policies.

This war has tested the Republican party anew. I submit, in reaction to this test that, in the history of nations, no minority party has ever conducted itself with such patriotism, such devotion, such unselfishness and such propriety as have marked the course of the Republican party during this war.

And so tonight we have more reason than ever before for our pride in the Republican party and for our assurance that it is the best possible agency of our people for our nation's progress and prosperity.

Through it all, every function of government must register and express the opinions of the people governed. A republic to be stable, must be free. Our ballot must be kept sacred and suffrage should be expanded. The women of America ought to have the same rights as men.

American ideals in this world war have pointed the way to a world peace.

American ideals in peace should lead the world to a better day, to a realization that government, wherever administered, is the servant and not the master of the people.

The new period coming will try the courage and the resourcefulness of our people.

I believe the Republican party can best be trusted in these critical times; that it can best be trusted in arranging the terms of peace, and I believe the Republican party is necessary to the reconstruction period that will follow.

The Republican party has proved itself in Indiana. It has supported the war with the full volume of its power. It has answered "aye" to every patriotic call. It has lived up to the ideals and labors of Morton. We would honor tonight the grand old party—the party of Morton and the party of Goodrich—but the honor is ours; its record of achievements in this war has been a fitting chapter in its glorious history and obligates anew our fealty and support.

The party that has so conducted itself in Indiana has in like manner established itself throughout the Union. It is the one party in the nation that can best accomplish the work of Lincoln, Grant and Roosevelt.

While we are making the "world safe for democracy" we want to make "democracy" safe at home.

The war over, there will be a thousand readjustments necessary. That period will try the courage and the resourcefulness of our people.

America will emerge with the satisfaction that through her efforts a world has been made free. She will emerge with a place at the head of the nations of the world. She will emerge, however, tremendously in debt and with the knowledge that her governmental as well as her economic fabric has been wrenched by war and that a long period of reconstruction and rehabilitation is before her.

We will have to absorb into our economic life the millions of our boys as they return from our cantonments and from the fields of France where they have wrought and sacrificed for their country's flag.

We will have to provide for the gradual liquidation of our unprecedented debt. There will have to be an increasing and expanding efficiency in governmental functions. Our government must aid and develop our industry and commerce. It must not shackle and obstruct them. We must control our markets at home and must reach out an hundred ways, along unblazed paths, to develop markets abroad.

American industry has been mobilized for purposes of war. It must gradually be turned about face and made to supply the demands of peace.

Under the new conditions, extravagance must be eliminated and in government especially there must be no lost motion. Taxation, national and state, should be kept as low as the strictest economy will permit. Its burdens will be heavy at best and they must be distributed equitably on the basis of benefits received and ability to pay.

"There has been no wobbling in Indiana. With keen vision, Governor Goodrich saw the march of future events—marked with precision the State's course in the war and piloted her activities with a firm and vigorous hand without procrastination, without wavering, but with determined energy that Indiana should be true to her traditions. He did not wait for the development of a war spirit to move him. He did not wait for public sentiment to impel executive action. He did not wait for a popular demand for preparedness. Among the first in the land, he saw the war demands of future days and prepared while others talked. By an aggressive initiative he moulded public sentiment and led the people of Indiana into the vanguard of effective patriotism and practical preparedness."

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